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Noted by DCI 7/3/51 - OOR

1 June 1951

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: Psychological Strategy Board (PSB)

1. Attached are papers which have been prepared interdepartmentally and approved for presentation to the Psychological Strategy Board (PSB) by the principal advisers to the members of that Board.

2. It is our recommendation that you authorize the distribution of these papers to the members of the PSB with a view to calling a first meeting of the Board in the near future.

3. It is suggested that the agenda for the first meeting of the Board might be as follows:

a. To consider the proposed interim procedure (TAB A).

b. To approve the proposed functions and organization of the Director and his Staff as an aid to the new Director in setting up his organization (TAB B).

c. To note the paper (TAB C) prepared by General Magruder regarding his concept of the Board and the organization chart which has been developed to implement this concept. They are put forward to suggest the eventual nature of the Board and its Staff. It is not endorsed by all the participants and if, as, and when it is discussed representatives of the departments and agencies should have an opportunity to present their views. There is also attached under TAB C a paper submitted by Mr. Howland Sargeant of the Department of State commenting on General Magruder's paper.

d. To consider the relationship of the Psychological Strategy Board to the National Security Council.

e. To consider future business of the Board (TAB D).

ALLEN W. DULLES
Deputy Director (Plans)
Central Intelligence Agency

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INTERIM PROCEDURE

In order to move ahead with the organization of the PSB the chairman, General Walter Bedell Smith, suggested that informal meetings be held among the representatives of the participating agencies in order to outline the field of work of the Board. Three such meetings have been held. The first under the chairmanship of General Walter Bedell Smith and the second and third under that of Mr. Allen Dulles. This group was composed as follows:

Mr. Dulles, CIA (presiding)
Mr. Barrett, State (or his representative)
General Magruder, Defense
Admiral Stevens, JCS

This group with the help of staff assistants in each agency has developed the set of papers of which this is a part.

This group is prepared to continue to sit, if desired by the Board, to deal with any further preparatory measures that may be necessary pending the appointment of a Director and his assumption of his duties.

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FUNCTIONS OF THE DIRECTOR AND STAFF

In order to give effect to the terms of the President's Directive of April 4, 1951, the responsibilities of the Director and the functions of the Staff, subject to the Board, should be:

a. to encourage the responsible agencies to produce ideas in support of psychological operations which include those matters envisaged under the NSC 59 and NSC 10 series;

b. as necessary, to coordinate, expedite, and ensure the expansion of the planning and implementing of psychological policies and programs;

c. to initiate and formulate proposals, including proposals for national psychological strategy, which would be referred as appropriate to the Board or directly to the responsible operating departments or agencies for development and execution;

d. to ensure that the psychological policies, objectives and programs promulgated by the Board are within the capabilities of execution of the operating agencies or, if not, to recommend to the Board that such special administrative personnel and logistical support as may be required from appropriate departments and agencies be made available;

e. to make a broad and continuing evaluation of current and proposed operations in the light of national plans and to recommend improvements to the operating agencies based on this review;

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f. to assure that in the determination, pronouncement and implementation of political, economic and military policies, adequate attention is given to their psychological effects and to existing psychological programs;

g. to assure that the programs of psychological operating agencies will be furthered by U. S. Government official pronouncements;

h. to encourage, receive, and review proposals and research bearing on psychological operations from private and official sources outside the operating departments and agencies and to make these available as appropriate to such agencies;

i. to provide secretariat services, including:

(1) preparation of reports as directed by the Board;

(2) organization of the business of the Board and expedition of decisions;

(3) promulgation of the decisions of the Board;

j. to assemble such intelligence and such policy and operational information as necessary for the performance of the above functions;

k. to examine continually the functions of the Board and Staff in order to ensure that the facilities and resources of the participating departments and agencies are utilized to the maximum extent.

(A proposed chart of organization for fulfillment of these functions is attached hereto.)

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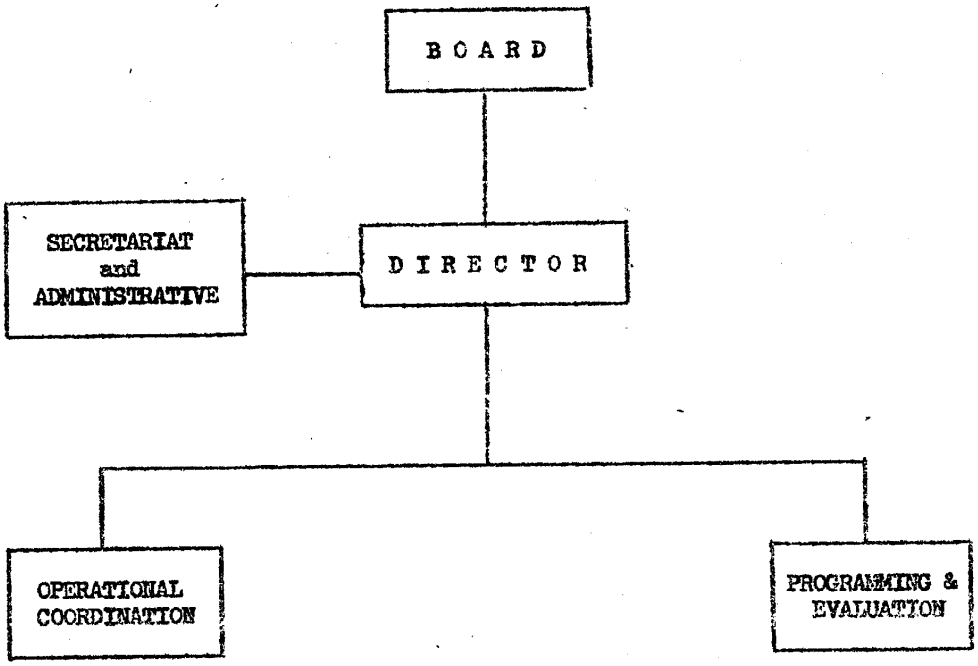
PROPOSED ORGANIZATION -- PHASE II



NOTE: (1) It is expected that each member of the Board will designate a deputy whose responsibilities include all matters over which the Board itself has cognizance. In the absence of the three principal Board members at any meeting, the Director will act as chairman. The Board may solicit the advice of non-governmental consultants as required.

(2) No attempt has been made to specify which unit or units would perform each of the Staff functions listed on the preceding page. In view of the small size of the proposed Staff this should be left to the Director who will allocate them in accordance with the individual qualifications of his assistants. In performing these functions, however, the Staff will utilize to the maximum extent the facilities and resources of the participating departments and agencies.

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CONCEPT OF THE ORGANIZATION TO PROVIDE DYNAMIC PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS IN THE COLD WAR

The attached paper and organization chart has been prepared by General Magruder and presents a concept toward which the Board and its Staff might evolve. No new functions as such are envisaged but it is based on a much broader interpretation of the agreed functions. While agreeing that "the Board shall utilize to the maximum extent the facilities and resources of the participating departments and agencies," the group disagreed on what constituted the "maximum extent." Under the view expressed in TAB B the PSB and its Staff would emphasize the function of coordination among existing agencies. Under the concept in the attached the PSB and its Staff would itself systematically program and control the psychological strategy of the Cold War. This involves a much larger independent planning role and much more contact with the detailed operations of the agencies than could be unanimously endorsed by the representatives.

Also included under this TAB are comments on General Magruder's paper submitted by Mr. Howland Sargeant of the State Department.

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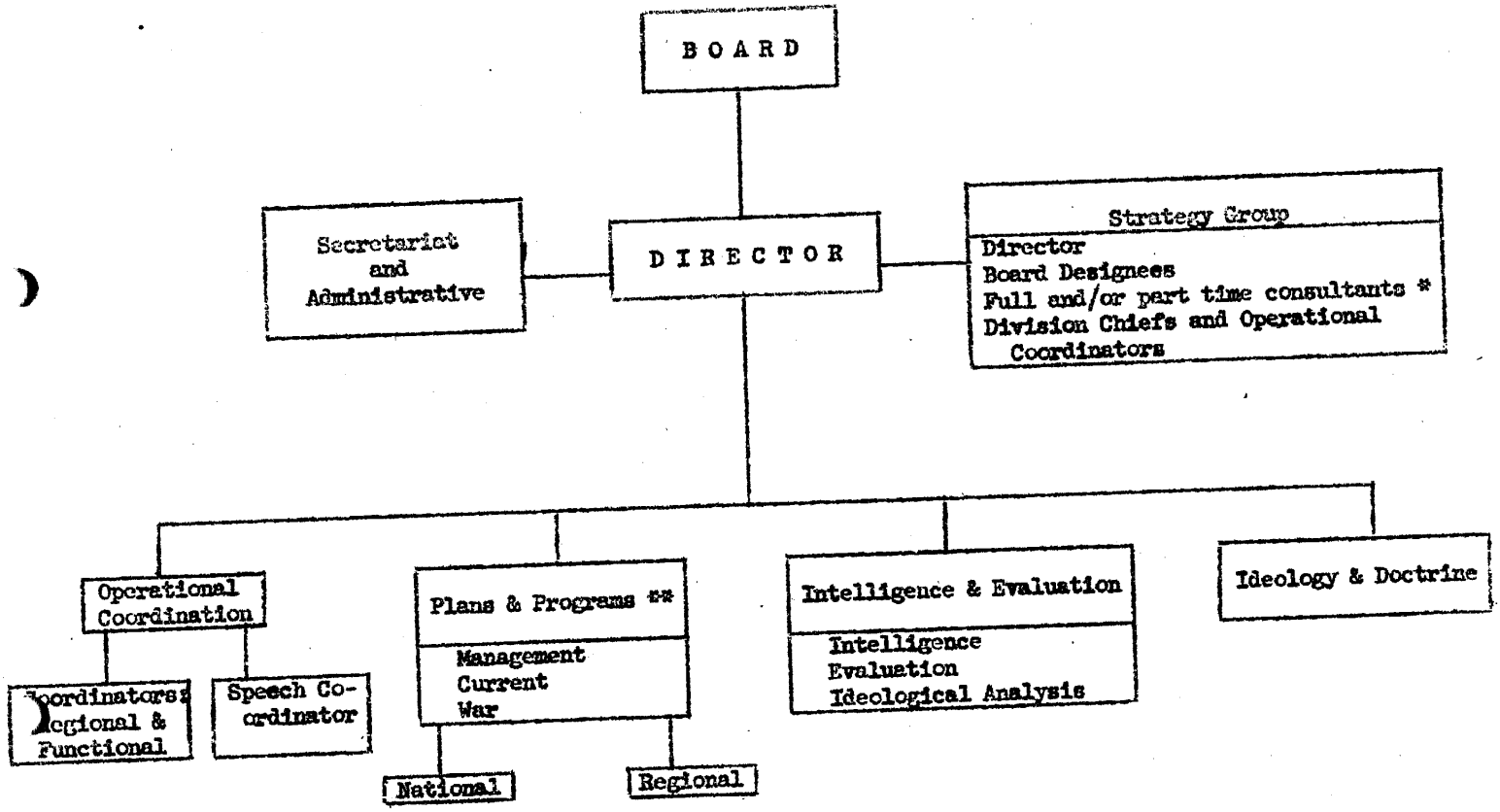
FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE ORGANIZATION - PHASE III



* From the Government or private life.

** Maximum use to be made of regional and functional specialists available in the operating departments and agencies.

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COMMENTS OF MR. HOWLAND SARGEANT ON
"CONCEPT OF THE ORGANIZATION TO PROVIDE DYNAMIC
PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS IN THE COLD WAR"

The subject paper is a personal expression of General Magruder designed to be helpful in the establishment of the new Psychological Strategy Board. While most of the concepts in the paper are ones with which I would heartily agree, there are a few points to which I would take exception. These differences are mainly matters of degree rather than of kind, but it may be useful to try and express them.

The following principles seem to me to be basic to the successful operation of the Board:

1. Our psychological program will succeed only as personnel and offices responsible for detailed planning and implementation perform their functions with greater and greater efficiency. To impose a large super-structure on top of them and to remove many of their functions in whole or in part would, I believe, introduce new requirements for coordination and liaison activities, deal a serious blow to the morale of persons now engaged in psychological operations, and in the end result in diminishing rather than increasing the efficiency of their work. Activities of the new PSB staff can result either in stifling the initiative of lower echelons or in inspiring them to greater efficiency. Every effort should be made to see that the latter result is achieved.

2. With respect to psychological programming, the principal need which the new Board and its staff can fill is that of formulating very broad government-wide policies, especially such policies as are presently beyond the competence of any single department or agency. The application of these policies to concrete operating situations should be entrusted to the individual agencies. It should be noted that the tendency in many administrative structures is to secure the services of competent experts and then to overload them with details to such a degree that they are unable to devote more than a very few minutes of their time to the larger picture. This is especially true in the field of psychological operations. To over-simplify the matter, it might be said that more exhaustive attention is often given comparatively minor matters of detail than to broad questions of major importance. Consequently, it is of utmost importance that the staff of the new Board and the Director himself should not be overloaded with detailed matters of administration or implementation. This is one of the principal reasons for keeping the staff small and whenever possible arranging for the delegation of functions to existing agencies.

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3. The number of individuals in the United States who are competent to serve on the staff of the new Board is very small indeed. A few might be obtained from outside the government, but the majority of them are already occupied in existing agencies. If we strip these agencies of their most highly-qualified policy personnel, we will have lost more than we have gained since, as noted in one above, the ultimate success or failure of our psychological operations will depend most of all upon the efficiency of the individual agencies.

* *

There are several points at which General Magruder's paper may conflict with these principles, although it is possible that the apparent conflict rests in the manner in which certain passages are interpreted. The following comments are offered by way of example:

In paragraph 19 on page 6 it is stated that the staff should be responsible under the Director for the formulation and promulgation in practical operating terms of coordinated world-wide and regional psychological policies, objectives and programs. It is further stated that this function cannot be delegated to operating agencies. It is my feeling that the staff should in fact delegate most of the preliminary work in this connection to operating agencies and should itself be responsible only for the final formulation and promulgation. Furthermore, this formulation should not attempt to be in "operating" terms if this means that the needs of each medium must be spelled out, nor should it be in "regional" terms if this means that detailed consideration should be given to the differing requirements of each country. The implementation of policy by various communications media and the requirements of specific regions could more efficiently be spelled out in detail by experts in the existing agencies.

In paragraph 19c, also on page 6, it is said that the staff should make a continuous evaluation of the results of operations with a view to making prompt adjustments in the programs when necessary. My objection may be merely a matter of wording, but I feel that the words "make a prompt adjustment" implies a degree of involvement in operations which was not contemplated by the Presidential directive. Perhaps it would be adequate to say merely that the staff should recommend such adjustments to the operating agencies.

Paragraph 20 on page 6 expresses the fear that if the Director and staff give themselves up to pondering and planning, we would have succeeded only in establishing another Ivory Tower. Herein,

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I believe, there is a difference only in emphasis, but I believe that this wording might obscure the fact that at the present time our detailed planning is often far in advance of our long-term planning. Would it not be better to encourage the Director and staff to "ponder and plan" as long as this cerebration is harnessed to the realities of operations. As stated above, we have not given our most qualified thinkers an opportunity to think. Let us insure that some of them at least have an opportunity to do so in the staff of PSB.

Paragraph 21 on page 6 suggests that the staff should include certain regional and functional chiefs who are outstanding experts in their respective geographical and functional areas. Certainly it is to be hoped that personnel can be found for PSB who will have certain regional or functional qualifications, but PSB should not try to compete with the operating agencies when it comes to regional or functional experts. Instead, PSB policy experts should plan to rely principally on the regional and functional specialists in the various agencies.

Paragraphs 23 and 24 suggest the creation of a "strategy group." It is my feeling that the entire senior staff of the PSB should be considered such a strategy group and that to create a special organization so entitled within the PSB staff would imply that the rest of the PSB staff would be concerned with details which might more appropriately be left to the operating agencies.

In general, my feeling is that the PSB should strive to conduct its business with as small a staff as possible and should attempt to perform only such substantive tasks as are in addition to those now being performed in the operating departments and agencies. It may be that this conception is not far removed from that expressed in General Magruder's paper, but that paper may also be interpreted as advocating a large staff which would to a large extent duplicate or supplant certain functions of existing agencies. These comments, therefore, are intended only to highlight the differing interpretations which are possible and to assist in their resolution.

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PROBLEMS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. The attached list contains substantive problems which it is suggested the Board should consider. Although work is already going forward to some extent on all these items, the amount of progress varies considerably. It is recommended that the Board select the most important and urgent ones and direct their staffs to expedite the preparation of papers for PSB consideration.

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I. Substantive Problems

A. Suggestions for Priority Attention

1. The defection of Communist China from the USSR

2. Psychological strategy to be followed on the death of Stalin

[redacted] 25X1

4. Psychological policies on public statements with regard to the Atomic Bomb

5. Subversion, demoralization and defection of Soviet troops in East Germany

B. Other Items

25X1 [redacted]

7. National policy measures designed to increase desired defections (both in and outside combat areas)

8. Psychological strategy with regard to the universal desire for Peace:

a. desirability of a disarmament proposal

b. countering Soviet 1951 Peace Campaign

[redacted] 25X1

II. Long-Term Projects (See attachment)

1. Psychological strategy in the Cold War

2. Psychological measures to insure that constructive relationships can be maintained and developed among the United States and the governments and peoples of nations, as in NATO, whose cooperation is essential to the national security.

3. Campaign to improve the personnel situation in psychological operations

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4. Survey of policy planning and research in the field of psychological operations

5. Survey of activities evaluating the effectiveness of psychological operations

III. Administrative

1. National psychological warfare and special operations personnel control and allocation

2. Measures to refine operational psychological warfare techniques

3. Cover and deception in current national psychological warfare toward USSR [redacted] 25X1

25X1

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SUGGESTED INITIAL PROJECTS FOR PSB

I. Psychological Strategy in the Cold War

Many individuals working in the field of psychological operations in the Cold War have felt the absence of a "grand-strategy" -- a set of objectives toward the attainment of which all efforts can be directed. One cannot be so sanguine as to hope that such a strategy can be clearly outlined by any one agency or in a short period of time. Furthermore, it is a matter which clearly goes far beyond the competence of psychological operations specialists. These difficulties, however, do not excuse psychological operations planners from making what contribution they can toward the grand strategy, and the establishment of a Psychological Strategy Board gives them a better opportunity of doing so than they have had heretofore. It is believed, therefore, that one of the first tasks of the new board should be to set in motion a major effort to formulate a broad, worldwide psychological strategy for the Cold War.

A suggested procedure for accomplishing this is as follows:

1. Appointment of a working group composed of the nation's very best brains from both inside and outside the government in the field of psychological operations and making provision to see that they have facilities for concentrated work. The group should also include experts in political and military strategy. It is felt that the prestige of the Board will be such that it can command the services of individuals who would not ordinarily be available to work personally on such a project.

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2. A working place outside Washington should be designated for meetings. It has been noted in previous similar cases that it is much simpler to enable top quality men to work on problems of this sort personally (rather than delegating them to subordinates) if they can be insulated from the pressure of routine duties. This insulation procedure is commonly adopted by such agencies as Brookings and RAND with a considerable measure of success.

3. The group should be asked to work on such very broad problems as the following:

   a. What psychological and other measures can be taken to restrain Soviet aggression?

   b. What psychological and other measures can be taken to strengthen our allies and potential allies?

   c. How may the best statement of U. S. ideology be arrived at?

   d. How can our Cold War aims be defined?

4. The following measures should be taken in preparation for this working group:

   a. Make necessary arrangements for meeting place, secretarial help, security, etc.

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b. Prepare briefing papers. (For example, an analysis of NSC papers and Presidential statements having a bearing on psychological operations.)

c. Arrange for oral briefings by governmental experts, as needed.

5. The full group should be asked to meet for a three or four day period at the beginning of the summer and for a three or four day period toward the end of the summer. In between the two full meetings sub-groups should be asked to work on specific phases of the overall problem.

6. It should be emphasized that this is not to be viewed as an effort to work out a national policy binding on all agencies. It is rather an attempt to answer two questions:

a. From the point of view of psychological operations, what should our national policy be?

b. How may existing national policy be exploited more effectively through psychological operations?

II. A Long-Term Campaign to Improve the Personnel Situation in Psychological Operations

This campaign might be divided into two parts: (1) an effort to improve and coordinate training programs, and (2) an effort to induce superior personnel who already have the available qualifications to enter government service in the field of psychological operations. A considerable amount of basic work on the first part has already been accomplished, but coordination is still lacking. An approach to the second part might be as follows:

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(1) Ascertain through interviews with leading experts outside the government what their principal objections to entering government service are.

(2) Work out, with all agencies affected, a long-term publicity program designed to attract first-rate personnel.

(3) Approach key members of Congress with a view to obtaining their support in this campaign.

III. Policy Planning and Research Survey

This survey, which would be undertaken primarily by the temporary PSB with outside advice solicited as needed, should attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What policy planning for the cold war and hot war in the field of psychological operations is currently going on?
2. What basic research for psychological operations in the cold war and hot war is currently going on?
3. What additional planning and research is needed, and what agencies should undertake it?

IV. Survey of Evaluation Activities

This survey should be undertaken along the same lines as the above.

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KF -

Seem unable to help re "where to file", unless you have a file dealing with Organization and Administration of PSB.

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